

# Heavenly Beings Brought Low: A Study of Angels and the Netherworld

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## 1. Introduction

In contemporary theological reflection one tends to think of hell as a condition or state of existence absent of God and God's goodness. If one were to envision hell as a distinct realm, one might even associate it with a supernatural, malevolent figure like Satan or Belial. How might such views compare to ancient Jewish and Christian perspectives on hell? For a study of early Jewish and Christian beliefs concerning the afterlife, one cannot turn immediately to modern views of hell. To be sure, though some in antiquity understood the deceased to be assigned indiscriminately to a realm of the dead (such as Hades, for example), one finds also in the religious imagination of the time places associated with post-mortem punishments (and rewards) that might be thought comparable to a "hell" (or "paradise"). In such realms, including those associated with chastisement, one finds not the absence of God, but rather a domain that is under God's complete control. In fact, even the infernal sites are frequently governed by heavenly representatives, angels. In some instances, angels themselves are confined to or incarcerated within such realms.

In this essay we consider what heavenly beings could possibly have to do with the infernal realms or post-mortem places of punishment. From an examination of Second Temple period and late antique Jewish and Christian works, it seems that angels have plenty to do with such realms. We consider first those angels sentenced to punishment in numinous places comparable to hell since some of our earliest descriptions concerning such realms involve the chastisement of heavenly or celestial beings. Then, we explore angels who are in charge of infernal realms, who may serve as guides to such realms, and who administer punishments in such realms.

## 2. Hades, Gehenna, Tartarus, Hell: What's in a Name?

Defining the infernal realm or hell within the Second Temple period and Late Antiquity is not a facile project as this era is marked by incredible diversity of thought concerning the nature of the afterlife.<sup>1</sup> Sites traditionally associated with the infernal world — the realm of the dead (Sheol [שְׁאוֹל; cf., for example, Isa 38:10, 18; Ps 88:4; Job 7:9; Qoh 9:10]<sup>2</sup> or Hades [ᾍδης; cf., for example, *Ilias* 9.158-59; *Odyssea* 11.487; Josephus, *Antiquitates judaicae* 18:14; Matt 11:23; Luke 16:23; Acts 2:27; Rev 1:18; 20:13-14]<sup>3</sup>), Gehenna (γέεννα; Lat. *Gehenna*), a fiery place of punishment or for judgment of the wicked (Matt 5:22; 29-30; Mark 9:43, 45, 47; *Sib. Or.* 1.103; 2.292; 4 Ezra 7:36; *Ascen. Is.* 4:14; *m. Qidd.* 4.14; *t. Ber.* 6.15; *t. Sanh.* 13.3; *b. Ber.* 28b; *Midr. Tehillim* 31.3)<sup>4</sup> and Tartarus (τάρταρος), traditionally a subterranean prison or abyss where the titans or other sorts of celestial beings were punished (*Ilias* 8.13-16; *Theogonia* 713-35; LXX Prov 30:16; Job 40:20; 41:24; 1En 20:2 [GrPan; Eth BM 485; Berl, Tana 9]; 2Pet 2:4; *Sib. Or.* 1.101)<sup>5</sup> — are distinctive in origin and purpose; further, because of the variety of views held on the afterlife, each of these terms could be employed differently by ancient authors, not always in uniform manner.

Although it is not the goal to explore at length such sites and to address the larger and important question as to how and why views of

1 See, for example, Segal, *Life*.

2 Sheol — the netherworld and realm for the dead — is variously presented in the Hebrew Bible. See Lewis, *Dead* 101-105, and also Tromp, *Conceptions* 23-46; 66-70; 154-156. See also Yamauchi, *Life* 43-44. For a reassessment of Sheol, see Levenson, *Resurrection*, who challenges the view of Sheol as a shadowy netherworld and universal destination to which even the pious dead are confined. Levenson (*Resurrection* 78) defines Sheol, rather, as “the continuation of the gloomy circumstances of the individual’s death” and “the prolongation of the unfulfilled life.”

3 Homeric references to Hades suggest it to be a gloomy realm of shades, to which all are destined, though the sources do not present an entirely consistent picture. See, for example, Burkert, *Religion* 194-199, and Bolt, *Life* 63-64; 66. On Jewish and Christian employment of the term, which typically replaces Sheol in the LXX, see Bauckham, *Hades* 14-15; Hades especially comes to serve as an interim place for the dead, Bauckham (*Fate* 34 and *Hades* 14-15) argues, who are detained there as they await final judgment and resurrection.

4 Gehenna as a place of punishment or of judgment emerges in the Second Temple period. The name derives from the Valley of Hinnom (הַיְיָ הַיְיָ) in Jerusalem which had been used for worship of the Canaanite deities Molech and Baal, worship often involving the practice of immolation of children (2Kgs 16:3; 21:6; 2Chr 28:3; 33:6; Jer 7:31; 19:4-5; 32:35). Thus, the valley of Hinnom became associated with detestable or deplorable acts; in 1En 27:1, it is described as the accursed valley.

5 See West, *Philosophy* 26, and Sourvinou-Inwood, *Death* 66 n. 165. See also Platon, *Phaedrus* 113e-114a and Vergilius, *Aeneis* 6.548. On similarities between the biblical story of the angels and myth of the fall of the titans, see Pearson, *Reminiscence* 71-80.

the afterlife develop in post-exilic Judaism, one should observe that interest in the afterlife, especially in the infernal realms, is keyed also to matters of theodicy and eschatology.<sup>6</sup> God's justness is maintained as justice is available finally to humans after death; through post-mortem judgment, the righteous and impious are respectively rewarded and chastised. Such theological impulses are prevalent in Second Temple period texts (for example, 2Maccabees 7; 2Macc 12:39-45), especially those considered apocalyptic in orientation (cf. *1En* 22; Dan 12:1-3).

At the same time as literature suggests increasing interest in the nature of the afterlife, one observes a more prominent role for angels in Second Temple literature.<sup>7</sup> Angels, variously named, are clearly part of ancient Israelite tradition and are found in various books of the Hebrew Bible, even within the oldest strata. Even so, an interest in angels seems to have flourished in the Second Temple period as speculation concerning the heavenly realm and its inhabitants grew.<sup>8</sup> Many of the roles assumed by angels are extensions of what we find already in the numerous depictions of angels in earlier biblical texts.<sup>9</sup> Angels are messengers, guides, interpreters, and administrators of various functions within the cosmos in Second Temple period literature. Angels also come to be identified by personal names and may be organized in hierarchical orders; thus, archangels in groups of four or seven emerge in such texts. Various classes of angels are also distinguished; these serve in various levels of heaven, have particular tasks or are appointed to be in charge of realms within or functions that relate to the cosmos. These developed portraits of angels proliferate in the Jewish and Christian religious imagination, especially in apocalyptic, deuterocanonical, pseudepigraphal and apocryphal texts of the Second Temple period and Late Antiquity. As such, angels are also to be found in association with traditions involving the realm of the dead, post-mortem places of punishment, and places we might associate with hell.

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6 On Second Temple and late antique perspectives of afterlife, see, for example, Nickelsburg, *Resurrection*, and Bauckham, *Life* 80-95.

7 See, for example, Bietenhard, *Welt* 101-104; Mach, *Entwicklungsstadien* 5-9; 114-127 and Olyan, *Thousands* 3-13, on the growing interest in angels and their spheres of influence in the post-exilic period and the reasons for such developments.

8 Newsom, *Angels* 249, 252-253.

9 So Newsom, *Angels* 249.

### 3. Angels Sentenced to the Infernal Realm

Many apocalyptic texts from the Second Temple period and Late Antiquity take up a tradition that concerns angels mating with women. The story appears familiar from Gen 6:1-4 where the sons of God (sometimes translated as “sons of heaven”) mate with the daughters of men. Though we may not understand perfectly what the biblical author had in mind, already by the third century BCE, some individuals had come to regard the “sons of God” in Genesis as angels.<sup>10</sup> The union of these heavenly beings with mortals results in the birth of Nephilim, and otherwise, seems incidental within Genesis. Literature from the Second Temple period presents the descent of celestial beings — in these works unambiguously angels which are often referred to by the designation “watchers” — and relations with humankind as quite problematic.<sup>11</sup> From the perspective of such texts, the angels’ mating with women, their spawning offspring which are violence-prone giants, as well as their teaching humankind forbidden arts and knowledge corrupt the earth and contribute to the proliferation of evil.<sup>12</sup> These angels are presented as rebellious and as engaging in the illicit crossing of boundaries; in certain manifestations of the tradition, for example, we learn that the celestial creatures were to remain in heaven and further, as spiritual beings, they were not intended for procreation (cf., for example, *1En* 15:2-7).<sup>13</sup> God, prompted by archangels, intervenes and punishes these heavenly beings which have crossed the proverbial line by confining them in an otherworldly prison, a veritable hell.

Scholars who have explored the accounts of the angels’ descent, sin and punishment observe that the earliest extant forms of the tradition,<sup>14</sup>

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10 Cf. *1En* 6-16 and also see, for example, VanderKam, *Enochic Motifs* 60.

11 On the designation “watchers,” see Murray, *Origin* 303-317; Black, *Book* 106-107; Mach, *Entwicklungsstadien* 34, and Bhayro, *Shemihazah* 20-28.

12 On the angels’ various sins, see Reed, *Angels* 27-37.

13 Another tradition may have circulated that involved the angels descending to earth by God’s command to teach humankind positive traits; cf. *Jub.* 4:15. Such a tradition may predate the work or may have been the product of Jubilees in order either to viti-ate the idea that angels might conceive of evil plans or intentions while in the heavenly realm (so VanderKam, *Enoch Traditions* 328-331), or to resolve chronological discrepancies suggested within the extra-biblical tradition altogether (per Segal, *Book* 125-132).

14 Scholars understand that within the Book of the Watchers alone there may be the vestiges of two or three distinctive traditions concerning angels who descend and misbehave. One stratum incorporated into the Book of the Watchers concerns the inappropriate sexual liaisons of the angels; another concerns angels instructing humankind in forbidden arts. See, for example, Bhayro, *Shemihazah* 11-39. The combination of the various strata recalls also the complex nature of the Book of the Wat-

other than what one observes in Gen 6:1-4, are likely to be found in the Book of the Watchers, the first of the five booklets of the anthology to which we refer today as 1En or the Ethiopic Book of Enoch.<sup>15</sup> The Book of the Watchers (1En 1-36) is thought to have taken its current form by the third century BCE, though it probably contains traditions that date to an earlier period.<sup>16</sup> While Genesis does not report any sort of punishment for the sons of God who descend and unite with women, the Book of the Watchers, which follows closely the biblical account in many instances,<sup>17</sup> presents a developed account of God's condemnation of the angels.

Inasmuch as the Book of the Watchers, like many of the works associated with the patriarch Enoch as well as apocalyptic literature in general, addresses both eschatology and theodicy, the punishment of the angels serves as a warning; just as the disobedient celestial beings will be judged and punished, so too the humans who sin. Not unexpectedly, then, various strata of the Book of the Watchers take up the punishment of the angels. The earliest manifestations of this tradition as well as the later accounts which are dependent on these, describe a type of hell — here a place of punishment or otherworldly prison — for these angels. From the strata, early and late, we learn that the fate of the rebellious angels consists of being bound in the earth, in something like a chasm, and suffering some sort of fiery outcome either prior to or at a final judgment.

In one of the earliest extant traditions, God responds to the crisis provoked by the angels by having Raphael, an archangel, bind and cast into darkness Asael, an angel singled out for teaching humans forbidden arts (1En 10:4; cf. 1En 13:1; 14:5). More specifically, Raphael is to make a pit in the wilderness, according to 1En 10:4, and there place Asael.<sup>18</sup> Asael is to be covered with darkness as well as sharp and jagged stones until the day of great judgment. Then he will be led to burning conflagration (1En 10:5-6). The other leader, Shemihazah, and those angels who followed him in mating with the daughters of men, are to be bound by the archangel Michael in the valleys of the earth. The im-

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chers which suggests at least five sections. The reader should be mindful that a mixture of sources contributes to this booklet and will, thus, describe variously the punishment of the angels.

15 See, for example, VanderKam, *Enochic Motifs* 60-61. While this author holds that Gen 6:1-4 is the older of the two accounts, not all scholars would agree. Cf. Milik, *Books* 30-33.

16 See, for example, Nickelsburg, *Commentary* 7; Bhayro, *Shemihazah* 7-9.

17 See, for example, VanderKam, *Interpretation* 283-286.

18 The wilderness or desert is referred to as Dudael or Doudael. On this tradition's origin, see Coblentz Bautch, *Study* 138-141.

prisonment extends until the day of judgment, when these angels too are led to the fiery abyss (*1En* 10:11-13; cf. 14:5).

Another tradition incorporated into the narrative of the Book of the Watchers presents the angels, specifically those who mingled with women, as immeasurable pillars of heavenly fire confined to a great chasm at the ends of the earth (*1En* 18:10-11; 19:1). A doublet of this tradition is found in *1En* 21:7-10. In this second version, the narration describes a fiery place with a narrow cleft extending to the abyss. The abyss is full of enormous pillars of fire (which are apparently the rebel angels themselves); the reader is told that the place serves as a prison (δεσμωτήριον/ *bēta moqehōmu*) for the angels, for their eternal confinement (*1En* 21:10). Whether these accounts have in mind temporary prisons prior to the time of final judgment is not entirely clear.<sup>19</sup>

The Animal Apocalypse from the Book of Dreams (*1En* 83-90) as well as the Book of Parables (*1En* 37-71) draw upon the Book of the Watchers and therefore, mirror the punishment of the angels we find in the earlier source. The second century BCE Animal Apocalypse features an archangel binding and then consigning to a dark abyss an angel who somehow affected change among humans (*1En* 88:1; cf. also *1En* 86:1-2). The narrative recalls the distinctive punishment of Asael in *1En* 10. Another archangel gathers the angels guilty of sexual misdeeds; these also are bound and thrown into an abyss of the earth (*1En* 88:3). There they remain until the final judgment, when these angels are thrown into a fiery abyss full of pillars of fire (*1En* 90:24; cf. *1En* 21:7-10).

The first century BCE or CE Book of the Parables<sup>20</sup> presents a hellish prison for the host of Azazel, the angels who led astray those on earth (*1En* 54:5-6). In *1En* 54:1, the place is presented as a deep valley with burning fire, where iron chains have been prepared to bind the rebellious angels. The reference to the prison as a valley could reflect Second Temple traditions regarding the Valley of Hinnom in Jerusalem as a despised place associated with final judgment.<sup>21</sup> Or, it may specifically recall *1En* 27:1 which describes Hinnom as "the cursed valley" where blasphemers will be gathered at the time of judgment. In the Parables, this place is described, according to the Ethiopic, as "the lowest part of

19 Black (Book of Enoch 219), for example, understands this tradition to refer to the place of final torment.

20 The Book of Parables or the Similitudes of Enoch is the only booklet of *1En* not to have been found at Qumran. A consensus was reached at the 2005 Biennial International Enoch Studies Seminar (Enoch and the Messiah) that the Parables were produced sometime between 100 BCE and 70 CE. See also Sacchi, Camaldoli 510-511.

21 Black (Book 216-217, 219) also relates this site to the valley of Jehoshaphat in Jerusalem where Gentiles were to be assembled and judged (cf. Joel 4:2, 12).

all hell"<sup>22</sup> or as "the abyss of complete judgment"<sup>23</sup> (Eth *mathetta kuellu dayn*) where the angels will be covered with jagged stone; this detail concerning jagged stone and the earlier reference to the host of Azazel recall the angel Asael and his punishment from the Book of the Watchers (cf. 1En 10:4). Further, on the great day of judgment, archangels will take hold of the rebellious angels and throw them into a burning furnace (1En 54:6). As there is a more developed sense of demonology in this later booklet, the Book of the Parables refers to the angels becoming "servants of Satan" (cf. 1En 54:6).<sup>24</sup>

1En 67:4-5, mostly likely an interpolation from the hypothesized Book of Noah, also describes the prison of the angels as a valley in the West located near to mountains of gold, silver, iron, metal and tin. One learns that the valley is plagued by a sulfur smell from fiery molten metal and troubling waters that contribute to the valley burning beneath the ground. Rivers of fire also flow through the area where the angels who led others astray will be judged (1En 67:7).

Such traditions concerning the binding and imprisonment of angels were also known to early Christians. In Jude 6, we learn that the angels who did not keep to their heavenly domain, their proper dwelling (cf. 1En 15:3, 7), would instead be kept in eternal chains,<sup>25</sup> in gloom for the judgment of the great day. Likewise, 2Pet 2:4 notes that God did not spare the sinful angels but condemned them to the chains of Tartarus and handed them over to be kept for judgment.<sup>26</sup> Both of these New Testament texts seem indebted to Enochic traditions concerning the punishment of angels, as scholars have observed.<sup>27</sup>

22 See, for example, Black, Book 219, and also Knibb, Book 138.

23 Nickelsburg / VanderKam, 1 Enoch 68.

24 The Book of the Parables speaks of both Satan and satans. The satans accuse humans (1En 40:7; cf. Zech 3:1-2), lead astray both the angels and humans (1En 54:6; 69:6), and are agents of punishment (1En 53:3; 56:1; 62:11; 63:1).

25 Bauckham (Jude 53) argues that in spite of the use of αἰῶνας, this initial reference is to a temporary imprisonment. Cf. also 2 En. 7:2; 18:6.

26 2 Peter is thought to be dependent upon Jude. See Neyrey, 2 Peter 30, 120-122 and Bauckham, Jude 13-14; 141-143. Neyrey (2 Peter 132, 198) suggests that 2Pet 2:4 purposefully uses "Tartarus" for Hades in an appeal to a bicultural (Jewish and Greek) audience.

27 Bauckham (Jude 32, 52-53) calls attention to several parallels between Jude 6 and those traditions in the Book of the Watchers, Animal Apocalypse, and the Book of Parables and states that Jude's dependence on 1En is clear. 2Pet 2:4-9, Bauckham thinks, drew independently on paraenetic traditions comparable to what we observe in Jude and may not have had worked from a text associated with Enoch, though the author would have been familiar with the tradition concerning the fall of the angels. See Jude, 2 Peter 57, 247-249. See also 1Pet 3:19 and Dalton, Christ's Proclamation 163-176.

Other writings from the New Testament are reminiscent of the Enochic tradition of the angels bound in hell. For example, the Book of Revelation presents the punishment of Satan in terms quite close to the punishment of the rebellious angels. Prior to the millennial reign an angel from heaven with the key to the abyss and a large chain seizes Satan and binds him for a thousand years in an abyss (Rev 20:1-3). Though released from the prison and given the opportunity to stir up additional trouble for a brief time, Satan, described as the one who led others astray, is eventually defeated and thrown into the pool of fire and sulfur, a place of endless torment (Rev 20:10).<sup>28</sup> Similarly, Matt 25:41 speaks of the eternal fire prepared for Satan and his angels.

Among the various traditions, one observes that these places of punishment exist to chastise angels or celestial beings. While these traditions may also understand humans to end up in such locales (see, for example, 1En 67:8-12; Matt 25:41 and Rev 20:15), it is important to note that such sites are under divine control. The rebellious angels, Satan or any other malevolent, supernatural agent are not in charge of such places. As Hans Bietenhard observes, they are presented, rather, as ruling or as having power over, albeit in a limited sense, this world.<sup>29</sup>

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28 Aune (Revelation 1078-1079) notes the similarities between John's Apocalypse and 1En 10:4-6, 11-13. He concludes that both works "are dependent on a traditional eschatological scenario." With the exception of the temporary release of Satan, Aune admits that the texts exhibit striking parallels. The references to the great chain and pool of fire and sulfur (respectively Rev 20:1, 10) recall as well aspects of the tradition that are to be found in the Book of the Parables, mostly likely a work contemporary to the Book of Revelation (cf. 1En 54:4; 67:4-5).

29 Welt 113-116; cf. also Matt 4:8-10; John 12:31; 14:30; *Ascen. Isa.* 2:4; 4:2; *Apoc. Ab.* 22:6. One might think also of the figure Belial (בלִיעֵל || "Angel of Darkness" [מֶלֶךְ הָרָע]; see 1QS III 20-21 and Davidson, Angels 146-147), well attested among the scrolls of Qumran; according to 1QS I, 16-II, 8 Belial rules the present age and leads astray children of righteousness (cf. 1QS III, 20-25), though he is destined for the pit (cf. 1QM XIII, 10-12). Similarly Mastema (מַסְתֵּמָה; "hostility") is presented by Jubilees as the prince of the evil spirits which plague humankind (*Jub.* 10:8; 10:11; 11:5); there Mastema, identified with Satan, pleads for a tenth of the demons not to be bound in punishment but to be allowed to test humankind. Michael Mach (*Demons* 190) observes that Mastema and Belial appear as functional equivalents within the Dead Sea Scrolls (cf. *Jub.* 15:33 and CD XVI, 3-6). Thus, many Second Temple period works describe such figures which personify or are associated with evil as tormentors of the present era or as having dominion over this world. Moreover, as Bauckham (*Fate* 78) observes, ancient Jewish literature did not link Satan with the realm of the dead and rarely did Christian literature of the first three centuries. For an example of a later Christian work which did associate Satan (here Beliar) with the realm of the dead (Hades), see *Ques. Bart.* 1:10-20; 3:25.



Eventually these malevolent beings come to be imprisoned themselves in places one might associate with hell.<sup>30</sup>

Though Genesis does not report any sort of punishment for the angels who descend and unite with women<sup>31</sup> — because the flood narrative (Gen 6:5-9:17) occurs immediately following the angels' descent, many apocalyptic texts relate the two incidents, however — there are other instances of treacherous behavior and subsequent punishment of celestial beings in the Hebrew Scriptures. For example, Isa 14:12-21 describes the insurrection of the Day Star, son of the Dawn (הִילָל בֶּן־שָׁחַר) who attempts to set his throne above the stars of God and be like the Most High. As a result, the Day Star is thrown to the netherworld (Sheol), to the recesses of the pit (בֹּרַי; Isa 14:15). Another example is to be found in Isa 24:22-23. Here the host of the heavens (צְבָא הַמָּרוֹם; Isa 24:21), as well as the kings of the earth, are gathered in a pit (בֹּרַי) and shut up in a dungeon (מַסְגֵּר; Isa 24:22). The description of punishments for these celestial beings, in these instances may serve as a precursor for the punishment of the angels;<sup>32</sup> likewise many of the apocalyptic texts that treat the misdeeds of the angels tell also of stars, the hosts of heaven, or planets which are disobedient in some manner and are punished as well (cf. *1En* 18:13-16 | 21:1-5; Jude 13).

#### 4. Angelic Administrators of the Netherworld and Angels Who Inflict Punishment in the Netherworld

As noted above, the Book of the Watchers is concerned with the eschaton and judgment and therefore the seer, Enoch, is given tours of discrete sites established in the cosmos that serve as post-mortem holding cells for humans and provisional places of punishment for the disobedient angels and stars. The visionary journey also includes those places established for final judgment (*1En* 27:1-4) and for eschatological rewards for the righteous (*1En* 25:5-6; 26:1-2). Many of the sites are pre-

30 An exception may be Abaddon, a noun derived from the Hebrew root אָבַד ("to destroy"). The word Abaddon (אֲבַדֹּן), which suggests "place of destruction," occurs several times within wisdom literature of the Hebrew Scriptures and is often in parallelism to Sheol (cf. Prov 15:11) and the grave (קֶבֶר; cf. Ps 88:12). Abaddon may also have been personified in a manner comparable to that of Mot, "Death" (see, for example, Prov 27:20; Job 28:22), however, such that certain texts may present it as an angel or demon associated with the realm of the dead. In this respect, see Rev 9:11, where the angel of the abyss is named Abaddon (Ἀβaddon).

31 See, however, Hendel, Demigods 13-26.

32 Suter (Tradition 94-102) argues, in fact, that the tradition of the angels' punishments as found in *1En* 6-11 derives from a midrash of Isa 24:17-23.

sented as inaccessible (cf. *1En* 19:3), though the temporal or spatial remoteness is not a hindrance to Enoch; the seer's travels are facilitated by angels who serve as guides to and seem to govern the extraordinary sites. These angels also play a role in the administration of places that we might think comparable to hell: places of punishment, the realm of the dead (Hades) and the Valley of Hinnom (Gehenna).

Uriel, for example, is presented in *1En* 20:2 as the archangel responsible for the cosmos and Tartarus.<sup>33</sup> The angel appears also in conjunction with Enoch's visit to the place where the rebellious angels will be imprisoned (*1En* 18:11; 19:1 || *1En* 21:7-10); there he clarifies for Enoch the site which the seer observes: a chasm (*1En* 18:11) or abyss (*1En* 21:7) full of pillars of fire. It is also Uriel who escorts the seer to a terrifying place beyond the inhabited world where disobedient stars are held (*1En* 21:1-5; cf. *1En* 18:12-16, though the angel is not explicitly named in the doublet). Uriel also gives Enoch a tour of the Valley of Hinnom (*1En* 27:1-4), here presented as the cursed valley in Jerusalem where those who blasphemed are gathered together for judgment (see also above). Nickelsburg and VanderKam have amended the name of the *angelus interpres* of *1En* 27 to Sariel, the archangel of *1En* 20:6 who is said to be in charge of the spirits (+ Eth. "of the sons of men") who sin against the spirit.<sup>34</sup> The idea of Uriel serving as an archangel in charge of the Valley of Hinnom is not really so unusual, however, since Gehenna and Tartarus are both associated with places of punishment for the wicked.<sup>35</sup>

Uriel's name, "light" or "fire of God," calls to mind the solar nature of Šamaš, the Babylonian sun-god.<sup>36</sup> Both Šamaš and Uriel play a role in judgment. Šamaš in his nightly journey through the nether region judges the deceased. Perhaps in a comparable manner, Uriel is associated with Tartarus where judgment and punishment are conferred especially upon sinful celestial beings. Though Uriel is not a deity who judges ultimately, the archangel is instrumental in carrying out God's orders vis-à-vis the cosmos and in facilitating judgment or retribution. The traditional connection between Uriel and a sort of hell is recalled in

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33 Some of the Ethiopic manuscripts of *1En* 20:2 suggest that Uriel is responsible, instead, for thunder and tremors (cf., however, Eth BM 485; Berl, Tana 9). In light of other references to Uriel in *1En* and the Sibylline Oracles, the Greek appears to offer the superior reading. So Charles, Book 43, and VanderKam, *Enoch: A Man 52*. Knibb (Book 107) and Black (Book 162) prefer the Ethiopic or find the Greek reading implausible. In adjudicating between the readings, one should also attempt to anticipate the Semitic original on which these would be based.

34 Cf. *1En* 46. Also, Nickelsburg, *Commentary* 319.

35 So Milik, *Books* 173.

36 Cf. Albani, *Astronomie* 306-310.

*Sib. Or.* 2.229 which also features the archangel breaking down the gates of Hades.<sup>37</sup>

Though not exactly a hell, the Book of the Watchers also features a realm of the dead that appears governed by an archangel. Just as *1En* 20:6 reports that Raphael is in charge of the spirits of men, it is that archangel who leads the seer on a tour of the resting place for the deceased in the Book of the Watchers.<sup>38</sup> This realm of the dead appears in the Book of the Watchers as a mountain to the west, and within the mountain are hollow compartments that contain the souls of the dead (*1En* 22:1-2).<sup>39</sup> The souls of the deceased are divided into four groups, with each group having its own sort of compartment. Three of the compartments are dark, holding cells for the souls of various classes of sinners. The fourth compartment is illumined and contains a fountain of water. It is reserved, of course, for the righteous. The hollow places house the souls until the day of judgment.

The name of this archangel, Raphael, who is associated in the Book of the Watchers with the realm of the dead, connotes— perhaps surprisingly —“healing” as is borne out by *1En* 40:9 and *Tob* 3:17, 12:12-3. These two dimensions of Raphael, as healer and as an angel associated with death, may be reconciled, however in the following manner. This archangel is associated ultimately with the chthonic realm, which itself manifests the integral bond between death and fecundity.<sup>40</sup>

The Book of the Watchers does not offer much elaboration on the way in which angels like Uriel and Raphael oversee these otherworldly realms associated with death and punishment. *1En* 20 states only that the archangels are in charge of these realms or over certain tasks; many of the subsequent tours feature the archangels explaining to Enoch the nature of each place with which they have some association. The Book of the Watchers is concerned especially with asserting the existence of such otherworldly realms that offer reward or retribution as a means for assuring the pious of the justness of God and of the reality of post-

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37 Cf. also *Apoc. Pet.* 4 where the reader learns that Uriel has been appointed over the resurrection of the dead on the day of judgment and at the command of God is to return soul and spirit. Uriel appears also to escort sinners to punishment (*Apoc. Pet.* 6). See also Bauckham, *Fate* 221-222.

38 Similarly, one finds an angel in charge of the realm of the dead. Cf. *Ascen. Isa.* 9:16, 10:8, 11:20. It is clear that this angel is not Satan, as Bauckham (*Fate* 77) also asserts, who is portrayed in the work as located in the firmament and as ruler or prince of this world (*Ascen. Isa.* 1:3; 7:9, 10:29; 11:23).

39 For a very thorough study of *1En* 22 and its presentation of the realm of the dead in light of other such depictions from ancient Egypt, Mesopotamia and the Mediterranean environs, see Wacker, *Weltordnung*.

40 See Astour, *Hellenosemitica* 234, 236. As Astour explains, the dead become natural givers of the harvest and those with power to take life, are also in a position to give it.

mortem punishments and blessings and does not linger over the details as to how the angels participate in administering the various realms.<sup>41</sup>

Angels do mete out divine punishment even within the Hebrew Scriptures (cf., for example, Ezek 9:1-11), and would seem to continue in this capacity in other texts of the Second Temple period. Among the Dead Sea Scrolls, a class of heavenly being, "the angels of hostilities" (מלאכי המשתמרה) or "angels of destruction" (מלאכי חבל), emerges. God delivers those with whom he is displeased over to these angels of destruction who then are permitted to rule over such people (4Q387a [4QJer C<sup>b</sup> / olim 4QpsMoses<sup>b</sup>] 2 I, 4; 4Q390 [4QapocrJer E / 4QpsMoses<sup>c</sup>] 1 I, 11; 2 I, 7). These angels may be associated in some way with Mastema (משתמה; "hostility"; see 1QM XIII, 12 and also above), who emerges in the scrolls as a leader of the demons (cf. *Jub.* 10:8, 11). *T. Levi* 3:2-3 knows as well of angels who occupy the lowest of three heavens and have been dispatched to punish humankind. In the Book of Parables, angels of punishment prepare instruments of Satan to be used against the kings and the mighty (*1En* 53:3) and chains of iron and bronze to be used against the offspring of the rebellious angels (*1En* 56:1-3); the reader learns as well that humans subject to torment by the angels will beg God for reprieve (*1En* 63:1). Thus, angels of hostility seem to do God's bidding and exact punishment in a manner consonant with the divine plan (see also *Jub.* 49:2), even while they may be associated with Mastema or Belial (cf. 1QM XIII, 10-12) and in that regard, appear malefactors.<sup>42</sup>

While Second Temple period texts, like those associated with Enoch, do not take up at great length the post-mortem punishment of sinners, later apocalyptic works, both Jewish and Christians, develop the topic substantially.<sup>43</sup> The punishment of sinners is addressed in the

41 An exception may be noted in the initial references to the punishment of Asael, Shemihazah and those angels who descended to mate with women at the hands of the archangels (*1En* 10:4, 11-13). See above and Davidson, Angels 302.

42 Davidson (Angels 157-158) does not seem inclined to associate the angels of destruction which carry out God's punishments with those linked to Belial in the Rule of the Community, the War Scroll and the Damascus Document in light of how he understands the angels of destruction to function in the Two Spirits Discourse: as obedient servants to God. He sees as objectionable agents of Belial serving also as agents of God. But Davidson (Angels 155-159, n. 4) also acknowledges that in the Parables, the angels of punishment and even Satan execute punishment on evildoers precisely as subjects of God. See also CD VIII, 2 and *Jub.* 49:2. Belial and his minions are, however, themselves subject to judgment and God's wrath ultimately (cf., for example, 1QM I, 4-6; 14-15; III, 9; 1QH III, 19-36; 11QMelch II, 13); so also Davidson, Angels, 303.

43 There is likely a relationship, however, between works like the Book of the Watchers and these later "tours of hell." Martha Himmelfarb understands the Book of the Watchers as the point to begin a history of the tours of hell, since the former employs man-

so-called “tours of hell,”<sup>44</sup> where typically a pseudonymous hero of the faith is taken to infernal realms to learn the fate of sinners. In these late antique works, the post-mortem state is one of unambiguous and immediate retribution or reward, and thus, the infernal realm appears as the hell full of particular torments and agonies.<sup>45</sup> In these pseudepigraphical and apocryphal writings, angels typically deliver punishments that fit the nature of the sin. These “measure for measure” punishments, in the words of Martha Himmelfarb,<sup>46</sup> are most graphically described; for example, those whose sins involve speech, such as slander, gossip or blasphemy, are hung by their tongues (cf. *Eth. Apoc. Pet.* 7:2). In such depictions, the angels, sometimes referred to generically as “angels of punishment” (cf. *Eth. Apoc. Pet.* 7) and at other times named,<sup>47</sup> are presented as terrifying in appearance and pitiless (cf. *2En* 10:1-5 [J]; *Apoc. Zeph.* 4, 6; *Apoc. Paul* 11 ).<sup>48</sup> Himmelfarb remarks that these angels of the late antique tours of hell seem perversely enthralled by their tasks that exact suffering; in that respect, the angels seem finally more infernal than heavenly in their pursuits.<sup>49</sup>

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ners of expression (the demonstrative explanations) and concerns the fate of the dead also important to the latter. She observes: “The tours of hell represent one stream in the development of tour apocalypses in the centuries after the Book of the Watchers.” Tours 169; cf. 50-56. Bauckham (Fate 35,60) also sees the tours of hell to be in continuity with Jewish apocalypses. Bauckham (Fate 34-35) suggests that the oldest extant tour of hell may be within the Latin fragments of the Apocalypse of Elijah, a Jewish work that dates to no later than the first century CE.

44 For a comprehensive examination of such traditions, see Himmelfarb, Tours.

45 Bauckham (Fate 34, 52, 70) observes that the notion that the punishment of the wicked could begin immediately following death (and not be postponed until the final judgment) contributed greatly to the tradition of the tours of hell. In earlier Second Temple literature, both the righteous and the sinner awaited final judgment and reward or retribution in a type of realm of the dead like Hades (cf. *1En* 22); thus the reader is only able to anticipate, through the seer’s descriptions, places of judgment. The later tours of hell allow the seer to describe to the reader in vivid detail, however, ongoing punishments inflicted. On the representations of such hells and how they compare to descriptions of Sheol, Gehenna, and Hades, see Himmelfarb, Tours 106-116.

46 Himmelfarb, Tours 75-92.

47 Ezrael, for example, is identified in the *Eth. Apocalypse of Peter* as the “angel of wrath” who plays an active role in the punishments of various classes of sinners (cf. *Apoc. Pet.* 9-12). See also Bauckham, Fate 222-223, who is inclined to amend the name to Sariel, an angel featured in *1En* 20:6 (see above). In Gedulat Moshe, Moses’ guide, the chief of Gehenna, is an angel named Nesargiel (*Ged. Mosh.* 13-14).

48 In the Apocalypse of Zephaniah, the seer encounters Satan (“the accuser”); it is clear that in this context, however, Satan serves in his traditional role as juridical accuser or adversary to humankind (see Job 1; Zechariah 3), as he accuses the people before God (cf. *Apoc. Zeph.* 6:17; 8:5). So Bauckham, Fate 37. Himmelfarb provides a survey of works that feature such “angels of torture.” See Tours, 116; 120-121.

49 See Himmelfarb, Tours 120-121. Bauckham (Fate 225-226) softens the representations of such angels as agents of punishment, however, by noting that their description as

## 5. Conclusion

Though it may be uncommon to associate angels with hell in modern times, the religious imagination of Second Temple and late antique Jews and Christians could readily observe heavenly beings within the infernal realm or hell. Among the earliest of Second Temple period works are traditions concerning disobedient angels who were imprisoned in types of hell. Though the angels were thought, like Satan, Belial or Mastema, to corrupt and lead humans astray, they were not considered rulers of the netherworld. Far from ruling over such environs, those angels who have rebelled against God eventually become the inhabitants of infernal, Tartarus-like environs. As God is ultimately in control of even the most remote realms (both in temporal and spatial senses), even places associated with the afterlife or netherworld are under his jurisdiction. Thus, loyal angels, representatives of heaven, govern infernal realms or places of punishment on the Divine's behalf. In earlier works of the Second Temple period (in the Book of the Watchers, for example), the relationship between angels and sites of punishment or the realm of the dead is not clarified. Within the Dead Sea Scrolls and the Book of the Parables, however, angels of hostility or angels who torment (again, under God's directive) are more prominent. It is within late antique works especially that one finds extensive traditions concerning hell that feature fierce angels carrying out specific punishments tailored to various sins. Thus, from the Second Temple period to Late Antiquity we see a decline in interest in the punishment of the angels in places of detention,<sup>50</sup> and instead a growing emphasis on the human inhabitants and their punishments at the hands of angels in hell.

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merciless and horrifying is fundamentally related to their task of carrying out divine justice with rigor; these angels are righteous, he maintains, not evil. Himmelfarb distinguishes between the angels of the Hebrew Bible who punish humankind at the Divine's command and the angels of these later tours of hell. She describes the latter as a new class of angel not attested in the Bible, influenced perhaps by Greek traditions concerning the Furies (Tours 121). See also Dieterich, *Nekyia* 54-62.

50 A shift in emphases may be reflected at Qumran as well where sectarian texts manifest considerable interest in the punishment of Belial and his forces in an eschatological war more so than in the tradition associated with the punishment of the fallen angels prominent in the Enochic literature. Davidson, *Angels* 298, 321.

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